The Lord Chief Baron Atkyns's *Speech to Sir* William Ashhurst, *Lord Mayor Elect of the City of* London, *at the time of his being Sworn in Their Majesties Court of* Exchequer, Monday *the Thirtieth of* October, 1693.

My Lord Elect,

The Duty of that place wherein as yet I serve Their Majesties, doth oblige me to say something to your Lordship upon this great and solemn occasion. I thought I might have been excused by reason of great indispositions of body that are present upon me. But since it is my Duty, By the Grace of God I will endeavour to discharge it with all faithfulness and freedom. And I am the more encouraged to undertake it, because of the great Merit of the Excellent Persons that are before me, to whom I must more particularly apply my self in what I have to say.

I shall raise my Discourse from Two Heads, and they are very vulgar, and they are very short, each of them consisting but of two words in *Latin*, *Foris Arma*, *Consilium Domi*: Wars abroad, but Counsel at home; The first tells us of our danger, the latter teaches us our duty.

Foris Arma: It pleaseth Almighty God, that after some years gone over our heads since the last Revolution, and after so much Blood spilt, and so much Treasure spent, we yet continue in a State of War, and that with a Prince who is very powerful, is highly enraged against us, and is very prosperous. His power at Land appears in this, that he has raised three great Armies, and maintained them, and with his single Force is able to Cope with almost all the United Forces of *Europe*. His Power at Sea appears in this, that he can encounter with the united strength of three great Nations, the *English*, the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniards*; each of which (single) not long ago, had been too hard for him.

I shall tell you in a few words, what the Design of this Great Enemy of ours is; not that I mean to tell you news, for I suppose there are none here present but know it; but I am afraid, we are

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not so sensible of it as we should be, we do not so well consider it as we ought. But however, I must mention it, because it inducеth much of what I have to say.

The Design of this Great Prince, the King of *France*, is this: First to make himself Universal Monarch of the *West*; and if that were all, it were not so bad: For it doth not so much concern the world who Governs, as how they Govern. But in the next place, it is to establish an Absolute Arbitrary Power every where: He would rule us with a Rod of Iron: His will and pleasure must be the only Law. And in order to this, he doth endeavor to make all other Princes & Monarchs seek to be Absolute & Arbitrary too, in their Dominions, that he alone may have the power of Ruling them, and that they may have their dependance alone upon him: And therein he would have the Prerogative that belongs to Almighty God, to be King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: He would be the great Proprietary Owner and Disposer of all Estates and Possessions at his will and pleasure; to lay what Taxes and Burthens upon them he pleaseth; they shall toil and moil, they shall plow and sow, and he shall reap and divide all among his Bashaws and Janizaries, and Men of War. He would destroy the Protestants, and root out their Religion, and suffer no Religion to be professed any where, but the Popish; and that not out of Zeal or Love to Religion, but he would make it a State-Engine, that pretended Religion being most suitable to serve his Ambitious Designs.

These are his Designs, and I shall prove it to you by some most manifest undeniable Instances. And I have them already collected to my hand by an Excellent Author, and his name is Dr. *King* (late Dean of St. *Patricks* in *Ireland*, but who since that, was made Bishop of *London-Derry*) in a Thanksgiving-Sermon of his preached at St. *Patrick's* Church in *Dublin*, upon the reducing of that Kingdom, before the Lords Justices of *Ireland*. It is in print, and any one may have recourse to it.

In the first place, He does state this to be the Design of the *French* King, as I have stated it; and then proceeds to the proof of it. And the first thing is a Paper found in the Closet of the late Lord *Tyrconnell*, then Colonel *Talbot*, where the Design is laid open, it is da-

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ted in *July* 1671. (now two and twenty years ago) There is the first Scheme of the Design laid between the *French* King and our late King, King *Charles* the Second; and it is a Scheme of such a Design as I have told you of; and then it proposeth the means for effecting of it.

First, To procure Popery to be established in *England* by a Toleration; next, To supress the Insolency (as that Paper calls it) of the *Dutch*: And the last is, To have a strict Alliance betwen the *French* King and the King of *England*. And by this means (as that Paper concludes) would the King of *Great Britain* be absolute Monarch over his own Subjects.

Another Proof he produceth, is a Memorial delivered in to the States of *Holland* in the year 1688. and that was by Monsieur *d'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador, then at the *Hague*. In this Memorial all this Design is stated bold-faced. There he tells the States, There was a Treaty between our then King, formerly the D. of *York*, and his Master the *French* King, in the year 1671. and that was to this purpose; To bring about such a Design as I have spoken of: by which means (as that Paper hath it) the *French* King would be Universal Monarch, and the King of *England* Absolute over his own Subjects; and by this means there would be a Re-establishment of Popery in these three Kingdoms. That is his Second Proof. The Third is a Letter written by *Molony* the Popish Bishop of *Killaloe* in *Ireland*, and directed to another, wherin he states this to be the Design of the *French* King, that I have mentioned, and the means the same to effect it. In which Paper, saith my Reverend Author, there is great anger expressed, that some Trimmers about the late King do disown any such Treaty with the *French* King.

So that here are clear Proofs, that this was the Project between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, of a very long standing. They are Proofs in Writing, and under the Hands of those who were eminently instrumental in the carrying on of the Design. But had I time, and were it so pertinent (especially here) I could make that Design between *England* and *France* elder than 1671. And particularly, I need but mention the business of *Rochel*. You may see how that Atchievement of that King (this *French* King's Father)

then) by the management of this publick Minister Cardinal *Richlieu*, is celebrated with wonderful Encomiums by him that was then Secretary of State. They date their Freedom (as they call it) and their Power over the Protestants, from that acquisition, and acknowledge that it came by the help of *England*; which is a great shame to be said. The poor Protestants in *France*, particularly in that City, prayed Aid from hence, and they had some Ships, six Merchant Ships sent them; they expected their deliverance by this means; but when they came, instead of helping them, their Men and Provisions were delivered over into the Power of the *French* King; which when they saw, they presently threw open the Gates, and submitted to mercy. And ever since that; the *French* Kings have been absolute over their own Subjects.

But I must not enlarge much more upon that Head, else I could tell of some great Designs of the same kind at the same time here at home. The striking out of that part of the Ancient Oath in King *Charles* the First's time, at his Coronation by Archbishop *Laud* (that the King should consent to such Laws as the People should chuse) and instead of that another very unusual one inserted, *Saving the King's Prerogative-Royal*. I do not deny but the King of *England* has a large Prerogative, as much as a good King can desire: He has a Prerogative to do good; He is only restrained from doing hurt: For our Law says, *The King can do no wrong*. He has we say a Prerogative that is part, and an eminent part of the Law; but it is not above the Law.

And I could tell you of something more of that kind done since in the time of the late King *James*, at the time of his Coronation, there was much more struck out of the Coronation-Oath, which might be well worth the enquiring how it came about. But I let that pass; I have made out to you what our great Enemy's Design is; I will now tell you by what means he has endeavoured to effect it.

He doth first confederate with the *Great Turk*, that professed Enemy of the Christian Religion; he has brought him into *Europe* to destroy Christianity: And as this Enemy of ours, the *French* King, would destroy Protestants, so would that Confederate of his destroy and root out all Christianity; and yet must this great Prince

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the *French* King (forſooth) be called the moſt Chriſtian King.

He doth break through all the Bonds of Religion, Morality, and common Juſtice; he hath openly and publickly profeſſed he would not be a Slave to his word and Oath. He values not all the Edicts, under which the poor Proteſtants of *France* had their Protection. He did take a Solemn Oath, and he took it upon the Sacrament, that he would renounce all Pretenſions of Title to the *Spaniſh Netherlands*; and yet you ſee he is gaining the Poſſeſſion of it through a Sea of Blood. He doth (as we have great reaſon to ſuſpect) by his Agents and Miniſters, corrupt with Bribes and Penſions (or at leſt endeavours to do it) thoſe that are Agents, and employed under his Oppoſers, to get Towns and Fortreſſes into his hands, thoſe Unmanly, Ungenerous, Unprincely Means. And we have reaſon to ſuſpect him to have had an hand in deſigns of aſſaſſinating thoſe that are his Enemies, and to have joined with Dealers in Poiſonings. This, I ſay, we may very juſtly ſuſpect, though we cannot offer undeniable Proofs of it. But after all, I ſhould inſtance in that baſe corrupt way of ſending *Midianitiſh* women, according to the Counſel of *Balaam*, to lull Princes aſleep; and dive into their Counſels and betray them to Death.

But beſides, There is one piece of Policy of his, wherein he outdoeth all other Princes whatſoever; and that is the great thing of maintaining and managing Intelligence. He can tell when your Merchant-Ships ſet out, and by what time they ſhall return. Nay, perhaps, he does take upon him to know by the help of ſome Confederacy with him that is Prince of the Power of the Air, that the Wind ſhall not ſerve in ſuch or ſuch a Corner, till ſuch a time. He knoweth when our Royal Navy is to be divided, and when it is united.

And ſhall I gheſs how he comes to have ſuch Intelligence? that were well worth the hearing; I would but gheſs at it; and I would in my gheſſes forbear ſaying any thing that is diſhonorable to any among our ſelves. We all know the Scripture tells us, That the good Angels are Miniſters of God for good to the Elect. It is the comfort of all good men that they are ſo. It is ſaid, *He will give his angels charge over thee to preſerve thee in thy way*; and, I hope, we are every one of us in our way. But we have reaſon to believe,

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that the wicked Angels are very instrumental in carrying on such Designs as this great Man hath undertaken.

It is a vulgar Error that hath obtained among some of us, That these Wicked Spirits are now confined under Chains of Darkness in the place of Torment. I remember that Expression of some of them to our Saviour, *Art thou come to torment us before the time?* It was not then the time of their being tormented. It is rather to be believed, that they are wandring about in the Air, and there fleeting to and fro, driving on such Wicked Purposes as this our Enemy is engaged in.

We know Grave and Serious Historians give us Instances of Correspondences held by both Good and Bad Spirits here; the Wicked by God's Permission, the Good by his command, and particular good Providence.

So the Death of *Julian* the Apostate Heathen Emperor, who was killed in his Wars in *Persia*, was known in the very moment of it at the City of *Rome*, at a great distance from the place of Battel, to the no little Joy of the Christians. *And* this I suppose was by the Ministry of a good *Angel*.

We have Instances of another nature, of what has been done by Evil *Angels*. In the Instant of our Saviour's Passion, if we may believe credible Historians, it was known at a vast distance from *Jerusalem*, at Sea among some who were then in a Voyage. They heard a Voice in the *Air*, crying out of the Death of the great God *Pan*. After which followed great Howlings and Screechings; whence we may suppose by the Expression, that this was by some wicked Spirits that were hovering then in the *Air*, and did communicate this piece of Intelligence.

I shall say no more on this Subject; but before I go off from this Head of *Foris Arma*, I would observe one word that may afford Your Lordship and us some comfort, or at least some Mitigation of what may else be afflictive upon this account. We have *Arma* in the Case, but they are *Foris*; the War is Foreign. We have cause to bless God it is not yet in our own Countrey, We are not sheathing one anothers Swords in the Bowels of one another, as some of us know it heretofore hath been. It is abroad, we know not how soon it may come home to our own doors. But it pleaseth

ſeth God of his great mercy, that our Nation wherein his Providence hath placed us, in an Iſland which lies not ſo open to the Incurſions and Invaſions of a Ravenous Enemy, as the continent doth. What a deſperate condition had ours been, if it had not been for this our ſituation, long e're this. Conſider what a ſad condition thoſe poor creatures are in, who live in the Seat of War; themſelves, their Wives and Children, all Slaves to the Conqueror's Sword, daily under Oppreſſions, Rapines and Cruelties; one day under one Power, another day under the oppoſite Power. This is their Condition; Bleſſed be God it is not yet ours.

I ſhall ſay no more upon this Head, but reſort to the other Head that I mention'd at firſt, *Conſilium Domi.* And it is a mercy from God, that we have an opportunity yet left us for Counſel, a Winter before us to conſult in; and wherein, tho we do not doubt but our great Enemy will be very active, yet he cannot make ſuch a vigorous progreſs in his deſigns, as he may at another time of the year. We have yet time to conſider, and confer together.

And it is the Happineſs and Bleſſing of Almighty God, that we have the ſo near proſpect of the Great Aſſembly of Parliament, that will be *Conſilium Domi* indeed. If there be any miſcarriages, any ill Intelligencers, any inbred Traytors and Enemies within our ſelves, they will, we hope, take care about them. The Houſe of Commons, we know, is the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation. It is one of their great Offices and Duties to make Enquiry after, and proſecute ſuch Offences; and we doubt not they will do it.

It is not lightly and groundleſsly to be ſuſpected, that thoſe who lie in the boſoms of Princes ſhould betray them. But yet I will tell you, that no Prince hath reaſon to be ſecure in that point. I cannot read that Paſſage of the Royal Pſalmiſt without a great deal of Compaſſion of the Condition of Princes in this reſpect. *David* was an Holy Man, beloved of God, of great Courage, Parts, and Piety, yet conſider what he makes his own Caſe to be. My Familiar Friend, he that eat of my bread, hath dealt treacherouſly with me. But he deſcribes him further than that; We took Sweet Counſel together: So that it ſhould ſeem he was a Privy Counſellor, as well as a Familiar Friend. Nay, yet further, We went to the Houſe of God together: So that he was of *David's* Religion;

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he was one that joyned in the same worship with him; he was no Dissenter. Nay, he was one that professed great Love to the House of God; possibly he might be a great Champion for the Church, and the Head of the Party. Yet such an one *David* describes him to be, who had betray'd him.

We have besides this, (which brings the matter home to what we have now before us) great need to take care to chuse Excellent Persons into Offices of Magistracy, especially for this great City, upon whose good depend many things that I shall tell you of by and by, and on which depends so much the good of the Nation.

And, my Lord, here we have cause to rejoyce that that Great and Wise Body have made such a Choice for their prime Magistrate as your Lordship, one every way so fitted and qualified for that great Office. My Lord, I will tell you what comfort I hope for from it, and I make no doubt, many others that are here do the same; That hereby we have a Token for good in the Inclinations of the Citizens, we feel their Pulse, we know what their temper is, and we rejoyce in it; it is spoken in their Choice of you. They appear to be Lovers of their Country, lovers of their Religion, lovers of the true English Interest, and well inclined to set the world at liberty, as to their Civil and Religious Rights.

My Lord, I have a further Comfort in this matter; the Election of Officers is a deliberate Act, it is the Fruit of Counsel, (which is the Head we are now discoursing of) and the Result of wisdom. But, My Lord, we may look higher, even in this Action of the Citizens, there is, as in all great human actions the *Primus Moter*, to be considered, the Mighty God that governs in the Hearts of the People, He hath put it into their Hearts to fix upon you. What do we gather hence? *Vox Populi est vox Dei*; Almighty God hath chosen you.

It is a mighty Curse as we read in the Book of God, to have a wicked Ruler set over a people: On the other hand, it is a great comfort & happiness to see a good man chosen to bear Rule among us. Almighty God hath given us in this an Earnest and a Pledge that he will not yet leave and forsake us, and I raise to my self a good ground of great Comfort from it.

My Lord, in the third Century, after the time of our Saviour, there

there was one *Antenor* the eighteenth or nineteenth Bishop of *Rome* died, and the See became vacant, and the Christians in a great Body met together to chuse a Successor, and being in the Field together, a great many Names were tossed to and fro of Persons that might be fit to be chosen. But there was in the Crowd one that was known to a very few of that Multitude, he was among the *Ignota Capita*, one *Fabianus*, who was a plain Country Person, very obscure, but a pious meek Man, who little thought of, or sought the Bishoprick. As they were tossing about several Names, at last, in the open view of the Assembly there was a Dove lighted upon the Head of *Fabianus*, which when the People saw, they presently with one Voice chose him to be Bishop. You have the Relation in *Eusebius*, an Ecclesiastical writer of great Note and Credit.

A Dove lighted on his head! an excellent Emblem for a Bishop, who ought to be of a meek & Dove-like temper and disposition: *Amari non timeri debent Episcopi.* It was the Blessed Spirit of God in that similitude which lighted upon the Head of our Saviour, to give Testimony to him as the Son of God at his Baptism. And it was a Dove that brought the Olive-branch into the Ark. It is an excellent Emblem of a Magistrate, who ought to be like a Dove without Gall.

My Lord, indeed there was no Dove lighted upon your Head at your Election, nor was there need of any; for Miracles were never done in vain: it had been a Miracle if you had not been chosen. Your every way being so fit and qualified for this Trust and Command, did bespeak your Election.

It is a dispute among the Learned, whether Government be of Natural Right or Human Institution. I remember the Learned *Hooker* in his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, says some Persons have a natural Right to be Governours; that is, Men of great Vertue, Parts, and active Spirits, that are Mercurial: Others again are fitted for Subjection, being of duller tempers, and more sluggish heavy Spirits; some are fit for Hands, others for Heads.

There was a Noble *Roman*, who was called *Mecœnas*, of whom *Tacitus* tells us, He was never Consul in *Rome*, nor Senator, but yet had a great authority both with Senate and People, as any of those who had triumphed, because of his excellent Parts and great Vertue.

It might have been ſaid of him, He loved our Nation, and hath built us a Synagogue; that is, he delighted to do them good; and they would all liſten to him upon all occaſions, tho' he never had any of the Badges of Authority conferred upon him.

It is taken care of by our Law, That that Coin which is current among us muſt not be of the baſer Mettals, but of one of the two ner ſpecies, Silver or Gold; it muſt have intrinſick value, as well as the Royal Impreſs. This Election of your Lordſhip, and ur Swearing you and all this Ceremony, gives but the ſtamp and mpreſſion, it was your own intrinſick value before that intitled ou to the Office.

My Lord, I ſhall ſay no more upon this Subject, but ſhall make all the haſt I can to conclude with that which is my duty, to give ſome Advice to your Lordſhip. Not but that you know your duty as well as I can teach it; but I muſt not neglect any part of my own.

My Lord, I muſt adviſe your Lordſhip to take care, Firſt, of Religion, and of the Service and Worſhip of God in the City, to keep it up in power, and in purity. If we would have God to be our God and our Friend in a time of Diſtreſs, we muſt carry it towards him Dutifully and Religiouſly, and then we ſhall have him always our Friend, our Father and Protector. Therefore, my Lord, be ſevere upon all open profane perſons, Swearers, and others, and thoſe who are not afraid to vent their Atheiſtical looſe Opinions in Religion. There are a great many profeſt Atheiſts amongſt us; and there are, I fear, a greater number that paſs under a new Name of Deiſts, that are of as pernicious Principles, and indeed, I fear, more dangerous; who throw off all revealed Religion whatſoever. Pray have a care of theſe, and ſuch as lead diſſolute and debauched lives; for if they be tolerated, they will prove great Snares and Miſchiefs to us all; and therefore I hope your Lordſhip will look carefully after them.

In the next place, pray, My Lord, take care of the Peace, and Quiet of the City, upon which the Peace of the Nation ſo much depends. We have thoſe among us, and a great many, who, what with falſe Rumours and Reports, and other artifices and cunning Contrivances would diſturb the Peace of the Nation, and put

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Frights and Fears into the Multitude. It would be a desperate Remedy, that of Insurrections and Tumults. Your Lordship will do well to have an Eye upon them, and prevent the beginnings. [redacted]are well joyned together in Holy writ; it is Almighty God [redacted] that can still the the Raging of the Sea, and the Tumults of the People. Whatsoever may be the Pretences upon which they are first got together, we know not what they may turn about to when once they have a Head.

My Lord, You will likewise do well to take care, that the Proceedings of your Courts of Justice be clear and speedy, and not too chargeable to the Suitor. And here I cannot but renew the mention of a thing that I have spoken of. I wish there were a good Law against selling of Offices in the City, and every where else; it doth corrupt the Fountain of Justice. I speak not so much of your other Offices, but of those in your Courts of Justice; it may prove the ruine of the City, and the destruction of the Government.

Pray, My Lord, take care of Charity; look after the poor, especially in this hard Winter, and now there is such Scarcity of Corn, and the Dearness of Coals: Your Lordship in great Prudence and wisdom, and of your great charity, will, I hope, think of it in time, and provide Stores for the poor People, that they may not be in extream Want as to Food or Fewel.

I beg of your Lordship to be vigilant over those who meet together, and cabal, and study how to disturb our Peace. My Lord, they do now appear open-faced, and effect to be known as Enemies to the Government. They will not joyn with us in observing our Fasts, but take occasion on those days to feast and be jolly with one another; they purposely pride themselves in paying double Taxes, because thereby they are known to be against our present Settlement. These must have a strict Eye kept upon them.

I had much more to say upon that Point, but I have been too long already. I come now to the last part of this Work, that lies upon me, that is, to offer your Lordship some Considerations, that may encourage you in the chearful Discharge of your Office.

Among other things, you have the good Examples of your two last Predecessors, who indeed are so honourable and worthy persons, that they may be counted among the Worthies of *David*; and,

and, in particular, your immediate Predeceſſor that ſtands by you, who hath, during his time, well preſerved the peace of the City, and delivered it fairly into your Lordſhip's hands. Tho we cannot ſay, he hath brought the Ship into Harbour, yet he hath [illegible]ly performed his part of the Voyage, notwithſtanding the Roughneſs and Tempeſtuouſneſs of the Seaſon.

My Lord, You have the Example of the King himſelf to encourage you, who hath, with great Courage and Love to our Nation, expoſed his Perſon to the utmoſt Perils and Hazards for us. And it is not only his Vertue that may be an Encouragement, but it is evident now to all the world, that there hath a Bleſſed Providence attended him in the greateſt Danger, to preſerve and protect him. In the buſineſs of Fights, there is not a Bullet that flieth, but it is under the Government and Direction of Providence. And it is to a Miracle apparent, that the Hand of Providence is continualy over the Head of our King.

When *Julius Cæſar* was in great Diſtreſs, *Pompey* his Enemy having poſſeſſed himſelf of all the Power, and ſhut him up under great Difficulties, he puts himſelf into a Diſguiſe, with a purpoſe to make his eſcape, and embarqued himſelf in a ſmall Veſſel. When he was there, he could not prevail upon the Pilot to put to Sea, it was rough and tempeſtuous, like the Times we are now in; all the Arguments he could uſe would by no means do with him: At length he was forced to throw off his Diſguiſe, and ſhew himſelf, and tell him, *Cæſarem & Cæſaris fortunam vehis*: You have *Cæſar* abroad, and *Cæſar*'s good Fortune. That which he called Fortune I will call Providence: And that Providence which preſerved the King, I make no doubt will protect you in your Great Station.

My Lord, You have under your Care (and I am glad the Care is in ſuch hands) the Worſhip & Service of Almighty God, and his Glory is engaged on your ſide. Our great Enemy, that I have ſpoken ſo much of before, moſt blaſphemouſly and impiouſly arrogates Glory to himſelf, which is God's Prerogative. *My Glory*, ſaith God, *I will not give to another*. But the French King ſnatches at it; he declares openly, That the *Dutch* are an Hinderance and Diminution to his Glory; and we may Expect to have the ſame ſaid of our ſelves.

My Lord, I ſay, you have this Glory of God on your ſide and you have the Prayers and Aſſiſtance of a great many that love God; a Great many in your City, I dare pronounce, more than in any place under Heaven. The Prophet complained, That he was left alone to ſerve God. But God anſwered him, that *he had ſeven thouſand in* Iſrael *which never bowed the Knee to* Baal. I may multiply that number of *Seven* as our bleſſed Saviour doth in the caſe of Forgiving our Brother, There are ſeventy times ſeven thouſand in this City, and about it, *that never bowed the Knee to* Baal, never had a hand in all the Miſcarriages and illegal Actions of the late Times, would never own Popery and Arbitrary Power.

And I queſtion not there are a great many more in the reſt of the Kingdom: Theſe may be an encouragement to you. You have the Intereſt of all the Proteſtants in the world, and all that are concerned for their Civil Rights, and their Religious ones too on your ſide.

My Lord, I ſhall only conclude with one word: Your Entrance into this great Office is very hopeful; we all of us heartily wiſh your *Exit* and *Concluſion* may be as happy.

FINIS.

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